1s Hanke--22 O-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 SM4 Guarani SM4

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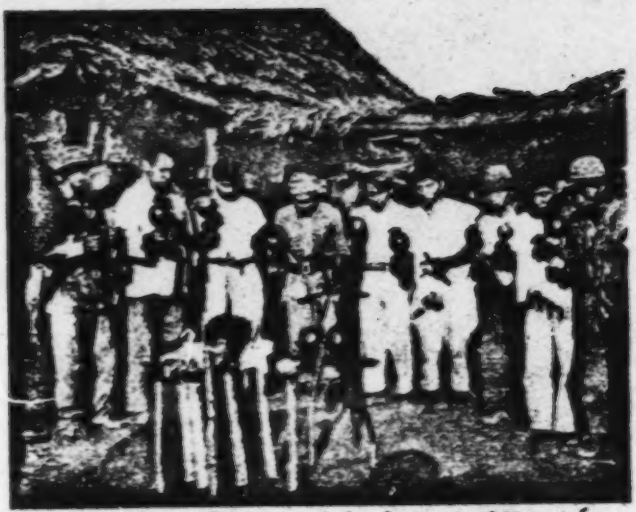

Fig. 10. The gathering and the festival of Yacairá in front of the chief's house. In the foreground the two stands with the cross and the calabash, around it the semicircle of men, singing and swinging the gourd rattles. One of them is holding a cross in his hand.

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The song in the original text runs:

"Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe reté moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe yeguaka moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warópyte moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warákambý moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú wapétya moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, ĕe curussú warópyta moãtyro, ĕe rykeý,
Hangatú, ĕe rykeý, se curussú kuákuahá moãtyro, ĕe rykeý."

/232/

796 539 782 783 533 In connection with it, it is to be noted first of all that ẽe rykeý is used instead of Nhanderykeý. Although Nhanderykeý is the name of the god formerly called Cuarahý, its meaning must not be overlooked: nhande means "we," "our"; rykeý is the elder brother; hence, nhanderý-rykeý means = our elder brother. Thus it is understandable that in the song ẽe = I, mine, takes the place of "our." I shall now give the translation of the song:

"I wish, my elder brother, that my body be pure, my elder brother,
I wish, m. e. br., that my head be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my diadem be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my chest be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the arms of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that the foot of my cross be pure, m. e. br.,
I wish, m. e. br., that my abdominal belt be pure, m. e. br."

This song, a sort of invocation, is addressed to Nhanderykeý, to the elder brother of the Caiuás, and asks for purity of the body [176] and of the articles of adornment. Purifying power is attributed to the god. If in this connection one keeps it in mind that this god is identical with Cuarahý, the sun, one understands the deeper meaning of the invocation. Purifying and healing power is generally attributed to the sun. Hence in this song are revealed [178] remnants of an old sun worship which probably was formerly widespread and more clearly marked. -- There is a second song that 796 539 533 speaks even more clearly for this interpretation; it runs:

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881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] [829] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Because they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the ñanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjekoaki) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the ñanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the ñanderú lets them go, it is the ñanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./
As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior [304] of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [262] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [752] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [884] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would [552] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [304] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

/98 cont./

881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 [115] The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the fiemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the fianderú or paí.

881 782 304 724 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakná, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the fianderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5);

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

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Kayová

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the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambé-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

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the fourth is related to the apyhá; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

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One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of those being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the flandeirá who directs the kunumí-papý, as well as the yvyrá'ídja who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

/121 cont./

774 828 [774] (also with reference to the living individual, which I regard as doubtful). The ayvú are an incarnation of tavýtarã, celestial beings or spirits ("ñandedjára"), which, in the religious sphere, are identified with the Kayová tribe itself: these are, by the way, several categories of tavýtarã, one of them called verándydjú. After death, the ayvúkuã of the adult goes to meet Hyapóguasú, god of thunder. It also goes to yvýtãmombáe, where it puts on resplendent garments: the place is also called kañingatýry rupí ("place of the souls of the dead"), which, however, does not mean abode, because the souls do not reside at a fixed point of the firmament, traversing, on the contrary, all the celestial regions in the company of the gods. For the state of happiness of the dead, they gave me the denomination ñemyrõ, a term that in the common Guaraní means "to be offended." --

[192] [776] The ayvúkuã of a child, contrary to what happens with that of an adult, is immediately transformed into a bird (called guyrávuídjú), in order to fly without delay to the presence of Ñandesy ("our mother"), who seems to be the lady of the celestial region called yvakãtýtãrã. The less good part of the soul, the one that becomes angatýry, is being formed during the earthly existence of the individual. As the child is "innocent" and "has not traversed places" (as I heard it said in Amambai), it has no angatýry.

[828]

782 796 • 3. The means, manner of union between the world of the living and the supernatural one

[192] The recourse always at hand that the Guaraní has at his disposal to provoke and at the same time to give vent to his religious experiences is the /122/ porahéi, or prayer. The

[533] [534] porahéi is always sung and requires the accompaniment of mbaraká and takuápu for marking the rhythm of the dance. Song, dance (djóasy), and instrumental sound thus constitute a unity. The porahéi is sometimes communitarian depending

/122 cont./

782 on the participation of the whole village or at least of a group
784 of neighbors, sometimes domestic, limited to the family, that
is, to the occupants of one hut. In this case it may be executed
only by the family chief, but in general he depends on the help
of his wife and children.

782 Like so many things in Guzeni culture, the pesakht is
182 an expression of individualism and of collectivism at the same
[734] time. On the one hand, it is part of all the collective ceremonies,
[424] from which it is inseparable, and, on the other hand, each in-
[182] dividual in particular has or may have his own and inalienable
pesakht, received personally in a dream from some protector
[184] spirit. This among the Shadiva and the Mehi. The Kayevi,
424 to be sure, do not know prayers of individual possession, received by
[737] inspiration, but only those transmitted by teachings, there also
being, so they told me, a certain freedom of composition, par-
ticularly on the part of the pej.

Each pesakht consists, as we have seen, of text and melody, tied to rhythmic dance movements. Many of the texts are incomprehensible, being a series of prolonged notes and some words, more or less connected, referring to the supernatural sphere. The importance does not seem to be the meaning of the words in a logical sequence, but their evocative power in the domain of religious, and therefore affective experiences.
[736] During the pesakht the religious sentiment is intensified, even to the point of producing a state of ecstasy. Remote from everything that is going on around them, the participants experience profound trance, remaining not infrequently with the face transfigured and crying from emotion.

782 The most precious possessions of an individual are his
424 pesakht, which are referred to with pride and even with some
114 reverence. The fear of abusing or making inadequate use of the
prayers is one of the reasons for the reluctance that the counselor encounters when he asks that the Guzeni teach him those that he possesses or knows. At Acuchi one day an admirer of so-called folkloric music appeared: he made use of the Guzeni prayers for some "typical" compositions, which, so it appears, were

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782 424 114 [123] them played on the radio. Learning of the event, the Indians considered it a profanation, and one of them later decisively refused to teach me his prayers, saying: "I do not want you to put them on the radio" (12).

12. /From p. 181 of the original source./ It should be remembered, by the way, that this makes the work of the anthropologist much more difficult among the faithful Nandéva, when it is a matter of studying their religion. Considered sacred, the knowledge should not be transmitted to anyone whose moral behavior and whose religious mentality are not well known. My informants at Jacareí confessed to me that they were afraid of being killed by Nandejára, if he found out that they had revealed to me what they knew. "Nandejára ranijuká," said Miércio. Among the Mbyá of Rio Branco, on the other hand, I was told that there was the danger of strangers abusing the transmitted knowledge "to do harm" (black magic?) to the Indians.

[115] [184] [276] [829]

782 775 779 [192] 782 775 621

It is not easy to find out what the nature of the power is, in the opinion of the Guaraní. Sometimes one has the impression that it is a matter /123/ of some quasi material, something like an object, that one can or cannot possess. Thinking of his prayer, the Indian obviously proceeds to a kind of reification, which is noted, for instance, when in the appeal he talks about "taking away" a prayer from someone (when "possessed"). On the other hand, it is, so to speak, personified into a kind of spirit or soul that is incarnated in the individual, to enrich his inner life and manifest itself through him. In this connection, it should once more be remembered that "soul" is translated ñeé or arandú, that is, language or human speech. Some refer to the "force" of the prayer, meaning, apparently, the magic power that is inherent in it and,

/133 cont./

782 778 621 moreover, the greater or lesser intensity of the religious sentiment developed by it: a prayer may "count" more or less "strongly," which partly depends, as I was told in Arashá, on the religious behavior of the fellow villagers. Here there is a profound sentiment of religious participation in the conjunction of individuals who consider themselves a social unit: if, in the group, there is a one person or another who, resorting perhaps to the mockery and criticism of the "rationals," no longer takes the ceremonies and beliefs of his ancestors very seriously, this attitude of his will be reflected in the greater or lesser efficiency of the prayers and, therefore, of the religious ceremonies performed in the village. The [782 778 775 787] yuwáhi is also identified, at least among the Kayová, with the "path" of the soul to the sky. Finally, there are many representations bound up with the yuwáhi which the individual and the group need in order to enter into communication with the Beyond.

782 787 The individual yuwáhi, as the Ñandéva and Mbyá know it, is a gift of the gods or spirits and is transmitted by way of a dream. The [816] Ñandesý Peroasado of [illegible] entrusted to me that Ñandesý reveals his will to him in dreams and teaches him prayers, transmitting them either personally or by way of Ñamandy (the sun), whom he sometimes commands. These prayers that constitute an integral part of the religious hours directed by the doctor-sorcerers are more or less known to the whole group. Regarding the individual ones, they are sometimes received already at puberty, sometimes only in maturity. I heard it said repeatedly in a categorical manner among the Ñandéva that there are no two persons with the same prayer, which also seems to hold for the Mbyá. But a person may have a certain number of prayers, an important factor of social distinction. It is among the Ñandéva that the individual prayers probably occupy a place of major importance. In general, the wife and children accompany the husband's prayer, but there are also women with their own prayers. At night, when the head of the family "has information," that is, "some good dreams," he rises, takes the /134/ mbaraká, and begins to sing, "helped" by his wife, who handles the rattle.

/Old case/

• 712 The Kaxinawá is distinguished from the other principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
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(91)

14. /Page p. 101 of the original source./ There is an interesting contrast between the Cashinahua Kaxinawá and the pajé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful, the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 119-120.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of Sonnini --, the Kaxinawá should nourish himself exclusively with "right" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

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I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances directed by Kaxinawá Miguel, who brought a group of Ishkí in a long pilgrimage from Peruguay to Iberê, on the Atlantic Ocean.
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During the pentí (name of the prayer in the Ishkí dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a direct understanding with Kaxinawá Yuxinkí, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the ritual dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.
(176)

/[illegible]/

• 783 Prayers that are sung or collective ceremonies may be
[84] passed on by instruction. A Karaiyá is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route. It is a good idea for him to take a course with [illegible] and did not even have an "altar" near his house), animal by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them." In the words of Ideyati. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the ohé (dancing ground) of Pai Tumáo and went to the house of the cura Pascual. At Amambai, Pai José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Nandéva the acquisition
783 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[84] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the Karaiyá Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- so long as he does not marry and is reserved. It is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same holds for women who wish to become cunas (karaiyá, "our mother"): they start to learn /[illegible]/ from the time they are chil-
[89] dren and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the
[96] abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Karaiyá does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become Karaiyá.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[913] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession?), in order to take away everything reprehensible in him, particularly the ideas

/130 cont./

754 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate
159 became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice
754 of the paraklê. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a
184 sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is
[illegible] of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 There are prayers for everything. The Nandéva have
184 them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear.
The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness,
against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win
women and other things too. They are prayers which any person
may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kerana. The
cycle of prayers relating to the maize is especially highly de-
veloped among the Kayová when the plants are ready to hoe,
a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the
"tamuru" /bare beetle, bizy bug/, which eats the roots; when
the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to
speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should
not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and
782 so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic lan-
198 guage, quite different from the present one, but understandable
to the knowledgeable ones (15).

15. /Pages pp. 181-182 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takuru pfíva kuyrí: In modern Kayová one would say, "Takuré pfíva ryrí," which means red ants /Port. cupim, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente
124 Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers
823 of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and
customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's
personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere
in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his
prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

/125 cont./

782 122 828 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him afterwards. The attitude of Pai Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my

782 [776] [787] [428] prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the protector spirit brings (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual. It is easy to see that the porahéi is taken both as force and as substance, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suitable for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová

782 789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of porahéi or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 829 One final observation with reference to the function of the prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social eunomy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dysnomy seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (ñemboeté) every day; that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-

78 182 179 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional doctrines themselves.

/128 cont./

754 123 It is not easy to obtain explanations about the practices of sorcery, and much less to be present at them, as no one wants /Ills. X-XII appear here/ /128/ the suspicion that he uses [184] this kind of resource to fall upon him. The most reserved ones in this sense are the Mbüá.

754 829 [182] Among the Kayová, black magic seems to invade in some way the domain of religion: they have a "prayer to do evil," called ñeẽgaraſ, which the individual sing alone (to the sound of the maraca, according to Marçal): in order to neutralize the [538] harmful effect, there is a "good prayer." They have magic songs, called ñemboéváſ or tekópapá: they are sung (softly and without mbaraká) in front of the track, the clothes, or any object belonging to the person that one wants to strike: the latter becomes sick and dies. The defect of these chants is that they "do not take hold in the civilized"; on the other hand, there is always the danger that the latter can use it against the Indians. The white man is considered immune against native sorcery in general.

[182] The Kayová also use the name ñeẽgaraſ referred to above (along with mbórahẽi ivaſ) to designate a prayer that is resorted to in order to "heat this earth" and destroy the mbaépotxý, that is, the evil spirits that inhabit it (Paſ Jose). Perhaps it was with mbórahẽi ivaſ that Paſ Chiquinho of Panambi wanted to destroy the world, when with his fellow villagers he performed the mad dance on the occasion of the official parceling out of the lands occupied by his group. More than once, by the way, I heard the name mbaépotxý for designating some white man hated by the Kayová.

[182] In the opinion of the Indians, the "prayers to do evil" still do not constitute sorcery. They told me that "sorcery" properly speaking is called mohñ vaſ, done with food remains (orange and banana peelings, etc.) and slower in action. They did not want to teach me the technique.

754 755 Among the Kayová of Amambai death by sorcery is talked about a great deal. They tend to accuse in this sense the person who has made the last visit to the sick person. The victim avenges himself by means of practices of countersorcery. (The wife of the former officer in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 169]

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/133 cont./

761 On the other hand, the profoundly religious desire to die, comparable, perhaps, to the thanatomania of the Eskimo. Among the Guaraní one observes that an individual dies because of his wish to go to the Beyond, simply because he believes that he should die, not by virtue of a prophecy, but on the basis of his personal
[763] experiences. This is what happened to the ñanderú Sebastião, the doctor-sorcerer of Araribá, who one fine day lay down in the hammock of his house, refusing any and all nourishment, and not thinking of anything other than the reunion with the gods. Two or three weeks later he was taken to the cemetery.

761 If there are prayers supplicating long life, there are also
• 782 those asking for death. Such are found at least among the Kayová, where these prayers are called ohéngupí; the word indicates the ascending of the soul to the sky in order to present the supplication.
[184] Among the Kayová, incidentally, the majority or at least a large
[789] part of the prayers has the purpose of obtaining a vision of Kéý, or
[976] of the solar god Paí Kuaráy. And it is enough, it is said, that someone have the favor of seeing Kéý once for him to be not long in dying, taken by the desire to see him constantly.

761 Unequivocally the result of all this is that death is not neces-
795 sarily equivalent to destruction. We already know that the dead person goes on living and, among the Ñandéva, may even be reborn. Death, as a simple occurrence, as something that can happen to any person, /134/ does not in general put his real existence in jeopardy. There is no need, therefore, for any mental acrobatics to state that Ñanderú (God) died and to refer to him as being alive in the sky.

761 Nevertheless, the Guaraní also knows a second category of
773 death -- and he is afraid of this one. He does not explain it in any satisfactory way, but it seems to be a matter of a sort of annihilation. He says it is the "death of the soul," which threatens not only the dead person on his dangerous path to the Beyond, but also the unfortunate people who are on earth when the latter is destroyed. On the day when the great cataclysm comes, nobody will be able to flee. Flying horses will come from the four regions of the sky, say the Kayová, advancing on the human beings to destroy them. Macacos

2r Schaden--180. E-4,8 (1948-1954) 1982 SM4 Guarani SM4

/137 cont./

765 179 [775] [191] [829] religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel" and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross" among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is properly religious; what interests the Indian is the recreational aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an op-

764 [114] portunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but, on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning whatsoever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to what V. D. Watson states (19) --

19. /From p. 152 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying

764 178 out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead, whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind -- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the chil-

• [182] dren they know prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the day of the death or at a later time.

764 775 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its diverse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east, "so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto). Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã eỹ, the mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be located in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's ex-

[773] planation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a victim of fire.

2: Schaden--185 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/141 cont./

776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 796 177 829 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pîêta, the piercing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).

• [782] [154] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators; on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibitionism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for compensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority that seizes them before a stranger.

771 177 178 [621] One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new elements in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that families belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrinations and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 177 159 156 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949 among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová religion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connection between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of the region and other elements of the civilized world.

2: Schaden--191 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/146 cont./

I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection: I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá: I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day: I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words: they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs: they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." The "sabedor" makes a large candle of vorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child: on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

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171 /153 cont./
Araucanos it is considered of post-Columbian origin and to have come from Africa (2).

2. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 168-169.

In fact, the similarity of the name with the African word marimba and that of the /154/ instrument itself with others existing in Africa are very significant. There seems not to have been any stringed instrument originally in the Amerindian cultures.

The Mbüá also divert themselves, individually, with small flutes of taquara, with five holes on the upper surface and two on the lower one. To the orifices of the upper surface correspond the index finger, the middle one, and the ring finger of the right hand and the index finger and middle one of the left hand; to the lower ones, the thumbs.

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824 The characteristic instrument of the Kayová is the mimby, a kind of whistle-flute, in most cases carved out of araá rapo (root of araça), rarely of yvyrákatú or some other wood. It is one of the few objects that many Kayová men always carry with them (3).

3. /From p. 160 in the original source./ For a comparison with the Chaco, see Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 179-180.

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789 In spite of repeated attempts, I have been unable to find out with any exactness the purpose for which it is intended: they only told me it is to serve to calm down furious spirits and to call on a protector deity when the individual finds himself in a dangerous situation (thunderclaps, etc.).

Another instrument observed by me only among the Kayová is the double musical bow, guyrapá f. There are two small crossed bows, one "masculine" and the other one "feminine," played one against the other. The feminine bow is of ysypó kopí ré-ỹ or of katyguá, with a string of pindó bark (but the bark of takuarí pará, fine taquara with spotted bark, may also be used). The masculine

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/172 cont./

183 771 772 648 [796] [124] [828] destruction of the world and to receive as quickly as possible the revelation of the path to the promised land. As a result of the conflicts with the colonists and the Government officials, the mythical dream and the cataclysmology tied to it assumed in a short time the character of a true obsession. When I once handed these Indians some sheets of paper and a pencil, asking them to draw anything whatsoever, they at once set out to represent scenes of the end of the world and the path that leads to the Beyond, so passionately desired.

77 As for the idea of the path, it is necessary to mention its importance in the conjunction of the collective representations of the Kayová, as well as, by the way (although to a less attenuated degree), of the other subdivisions of the tribe. The /173/ ñanderú [184] [782] might invoke for his position the evangelical phrase: "I am the way, the truth and the life." And it is particularly the image of the path that in crisis situations assumes the form of an obsesive idea. In the tribal myth it is distinguished, among the Ñandéva, as the path of the primordial mother looking for the father of the twins. Among them, as among the Kayová, it takes concrete expression in the dangerous path of the soul after death, as well as in the path of the soul in the prayer in its passage through the celestial realm of the deities. In all the groups, however, the most significant form is the path whose revelation is awaited in order to reach the realm of happiness. The Kayová, invited to draw, tried to portray [124] with the pencil how the path used by the doctor-sorcerer on his frequent visits to the sky appeared to them. -- All this reminds [829] us that the Guaraní characterize themselves as tapédjá as a nation of wanderers and travelers.

[782] [782] All the different prayers that accompany the religious dances and that extend through the night until the break of day, according to what the Kayová repeatedly told me, are nothing but paths that lead to the presence of the gods. The ayvú as well as the yvyrá́ídjá. "Without a path," one informant told me, "one does not arrive at the place that one intends to reach."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and men yearn to live
[773] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have
776 created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú,
772 Our Great Father, who now resides in a dark region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandecy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupã is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahira, the god of vengeance and
776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he
•782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult
771 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ'* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to
[784] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupã as the Creator and High God. Among
[791] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupã, son of Ñandecy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder.
[821] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or
[821] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupã are respectively lords of
[784] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ'*). A stock of traditional
[782] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of
[797] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupã.

774 **Animism.**—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[828] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention,
[787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power
[756] from them.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4
Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the ayvucué generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the ayvucué away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

The *Caingué* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guarani*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Caingué* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã.

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guarani* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1760) 1822
514 Abipon 514
GUARANI SM4

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192x
193x

Nekététàk, a goose	Neketétesi, geese
Oschígranigà, a stag	Oschigranigal, stags
Iñieñà, the flower of the alfaroba, or a year	Iñiegari, flowers, or years
Neogà, a day	Neogotà, days
Eergñalk, a star	Eèrgñalè, stars
Aápañaik, linen or woollen cloth	Aapañaikà, pieces of cloth
Yapòt, a brave man	Yapochì, brave men
Lachaogè, a river	Lachaokè, rivers
Letòk, the leaf of a tree	Leteghè, leaves
Ketélk, a mule	Ketelña, mules
Panà, a root	Panarì, roots
Ñibichigì, angry, *sing.*	Ñibichigeri, angry, *plur.*

From these few examples it appears that nouns ending in the same letter have different plurals. Moreover, as the Greeks, beside a plural number, have also a dual by which they express two things, so the Abipones have two plurals, of which the one signifies more than one, the other many: thus *Joalé*, a man. *Joalcè*, or *Joaleèna*, some men. *Joaliripì*, many men. *Ahëpegak*, a horse. *Ahëpega*, some horses. *Ahëpegeripì*, many horses.

I wonder that the Abipones have not two words for the first person plural, *we*, like many other American nations. The Guaranies express it in two ways: they sometimes say, *ñandè*, sometimes *ore*. The first they call the inclusive, the second the exclusive. In their prayers, addressing God, they say, We sinners,

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1:Dobrizhoffer M-S (ca. 1750) 1822
814 Abipon 814
GUARANI 814

ere angaypabiyè; because God is excluded from the number of sinners. Speaking with men, they say, *ñandè angaypabiyè*, because those whom they address are sinners likewise, and they accordingly use the inclusive *ñandè*.

As they have no possessive pronouns, mine, thine, his, the want of them is supplied in every noun, by the addition or alteration of various letters. Amongst the Abipones a great difficulty is occasioned by the various changes of the letters, especially in the second person. Take these examples. *Netà*, a father indeterminately. *Yità*, my father. *Gretay*, thine. *Letà*, his. *Gretà*, our father. *Gretayi*, yours. *Letai*, theirs.

Naetaŕat, a son, without expressing whose. *Yaetŕat*, my son. *Graetŕachi*, thy son. *Laetŕat*, his son.

Nepèp, a maternal grandfather. *Yepèp*, mine. *Grepepè*, thine. *Lepèp*, his.

Naàl, a grandson. *Yaàl*, mine. *Graall*, thine. *Laàl*, his.

Nenàk, a younger brother. *Yenàk*, mine. *Grenarè*, thine. *Lenàk*, his.

Nakirèk, a cousin german. *Ñakirèk*, mine. *Gnakiregi*, thine. *Nakirek*, his.

Noheletè, the point of a spear. *Yoheletè*, mine. *Grohelichi*, thine. *Loheletè*, his.

Natatŕa, life. *Yatatŕa*, my life. *Gratatŕe*, thine. *Latatŕa*, his.